2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Seltzi—three hundred houses, all Catholic—is at the head of the Tsem valley, a lovely spot. It is divided into Djenovich Seltzi, which forms the majority and traces descent from the reputed ancestor Kilmeni, and the Rabijenovich Seltzi, which is of another stock, and some say is related to a tribe near Rijeka in Montenegro (? Tzrmnitza).

Vukli lies at the other source of the Tsem and consisted of ninety-four families, all Catholic.

Boga is at the head of the Proni Thaat, above Skreli. Seventy-five families, all Catholic. Boga intermarries much with Thethi. Nikshi, one hundred and fifty-four houses, almost all Moslem, lies between Boga and Vukli. All these people winter on the plains near Scutari to feed their flocks. They, too, have suffered much from the new frontier, which was purposely drawn by the Montenegrins so as to cut the road and make their journeys to the plain and town very difficult. Montenegro and the Serbs hoped thus to force Klimenti to fall into their hands, and the authorities sent by the Powers to delimit frontiers were too ignorant of the manner of life of the people to see into the matter. So-called "strategical" frontiers, drawn heedless of economic needs, are more likely to promote war than to prevent it.

6. *Lohe*, or Lohja, a small tribe of one bairak, consisting of eighty Moslem and forty Catholic houses. Of mixed descent from Shlaku and Pulati. Probably families flowed down into this more fertile district not far from the lake when Serb rule broke up, for "Loho" and its mills are mentioned in 1348 by Stefan Dushan among the districts which are given to the Church.

7. *Rechi*, a small Moslem tribe, gives same tale of origin as Lohja; and has also a few houses of "Anas."

8. *Rioli*, on the river, obviously takes its name from *rivulus*, another memento of Roman days. It is all Catholic. The cloth-fulling mills still clack on the river, and perhaps stand in the same place as some of those given away by Dushan. Like Rechi-Lohja, it is of mixed descent. These eight tribes form the Maltsia e Madhe group.

There are also on the shores of the lake two small Moslem tribes, Kopliku and Grizha. Kopliku as "Kopelnik" is also one of the places mentioned in Tsar Dushan's list. Between Kopliku and Scutari is the only Serb village of the whole district, Vraka, which derives its name from the Saints Vrachi: The Healers, SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom the church was dedicated. Vraka had a thousand inhabitants, who all trace descent from various Bosnians, Herzegovinese, and Montenegrins, who in recent times fled from blood-vengeance and sheltered in Turkish territory. Far from being grateful for shelter they are a perpetual source of trouble. They are used by the Serbs as a "jumping-off ground" for complaints, and though they have their own Church

cure. The Mountain Ghegs also grow much fruit on trees near their houses. The chief species are quinces, pears, and apples.

Women have charge of milking the cows and making butter, curds, and cheese. Small boys are usually employed as shepherds, and lead their flocks high on the mountains. In the summertime many Gheg families drive their cattle up to the Alpine meadows on the mountain passes, and keep them there weeks at a time while they make butter and cheese. While on these heights they live in small temporary houses (fig. 8, *c*). The people of Klementi, however, who live in high valleys, drive their flocks to the plain of Scutari every year for winter pasture.

Animal husbandry furnishes the Ghegs not only with much of their food, but also with a supply of energy, for they use oxen in ploughing, and horses for travel and the transport of goods. In the wintertime they keep their cows and horses indoors, while the pigs, in Catholic regions, have special sties. Late winter and early spring is the season when food is scarce. The corncrib may be empty, and only the seed corn hanging in bunches from the walls will remain untouched. The cows are dry, and the flitches of pork and bacon gone from the ceiling.

This is the time when the mountain people, their tempers more and more irritable, used to turn to raiding, and while some rustled each other's animals, others came down out of the mountains to steal cattle from the people on the plains. Mirdita raided Zadrima, and Mati raided the low country around Elbasan. This annual hunger was the result of a complete economic occupance of the land, coupled with an excess of births over deaths. Raiding brought in more food, but feuding caused more deaths. Between the two, plus a certain amount of emigration, the balance was reached.

Transportation in Ghegnia was, in 1929, as poor as anywhere in Europe. There were a certain number of roads over which people could walk, in some places ride animals, and in most, carry goods on animal back. In a few places the trails were too steep for animals, and men had to pack in goods by pannier. The principal road, which will be described later, goes from Scutari and Lesh by way of Vau i Dejës to Puka, then on to Kukes, and across

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1 [See cat. 116, p. 109.. Analyst
2 [See c5. 116 p 42a- Analyst,

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

136 known inland, attack beast; when thirst, a rarity in winter, drives an animal to forget its instinctive caution and to drink from a swamp, as likely as not a crop of leeches fastens on its tongue. [22] So, as soon as they have sown their maize, the shepherds and their families and flocks desert the hot coast for the healthful pastures of the mountains.

[by the end of May--Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

its defects, of course; sometimes a judge took a bribe or a man bore false witness in spite of the deterrents devised against such malpractices. Yet the legal system worked well on the whole, was often speedier and always cheaper than any European counterpart, and left few crimes unsolved. What chiefly precluded modern Albanian governments from adopting the unwritten laws, however, was their diversity. This was mainly due to the isolation in which the geography of their country compels the mountaineers to live, and the fact that they do not settle permanently at altitudes more than 3000 feet above sea-level, but live on the lower slopes of the mountains enclosing their settlement and in summer graze the upper slopes as far as the mountain crests, where a carefully demarcated boundary indicates the end of their property.

Communications were as dangerous as they were difficult. As a result the principle of delegating one man to represent a big geographical unit was not established until modern times. It was regularly practised in small units, where the delegate had to travel only a short distance, and that through known, if not friendly, country. It was enough that one man should represent his house at a General Meeting of his village or tribe, but it was unthinkable to the mountaineers to hold General Meetings at which laws for the whole area might be passed as in an English Parliament. At best two adjoining communities might meet to settle a dispute about their common boundary or a road or forest, and after much argument make laws about the matter that were binding on both. More usually, a village or tribe drew up or revised rules for its own governance without any regard to what others, ten, twenty or fifty miles away, were doing. The outlines of a law might approximate in different groups, especially if there had been some ancestral connexion between them, but the details of the law were as varied as the minds that shaped them in the various communities.

The isolation in which it lived bred a fierce individualism in each community. This prevented it from submitting to the laws of another, except in an emergency. Then it might call in an elder from outside to decide a case and afterwards consider his ruling law. Such an elder had to be specially renowned for wisdom and sound judgement, and with one known exception his influence never ran far beyond the distance he could ride in safety and comfort from his own community.

That exception was Lek Dukagjini, an ancient law-giver of such

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so numerous that their livestock amounted to a considerable percentage of the total in Albania. They were found mostly in the shrub areas, though a few very poor men lived also in the oak zone. But the vast majority of this leafy belt herded their flocks on a larger scale. Above each village there was always the overhanging mountain with its forests of beech and pine to hold the waters and keep the pastures green and sweet. Under the higher beech trees no grass grew, but in the sloping clearings the animals could graze at will. In winter, however, these clearings were too high to permit of habitation; besides, such tilling of the soil as did take place occurred at roughly the same level as the village, and it was there that the flocks found most of their feeding. In summer the fields and meadows, whether open or enclosed, provided hay for the animals; in the autumn the stubble served for a few weeks; while in winter they wandered over the grass. In spring the winter-sown wheat was improved by being eaten down a few inches by the sheep. Dried leaves from the numerous oak trees supplemented this winter feeding.

Sometimes the number of animals was such that all these sources did not suffice during the lean months, or sometimes a village had no suitable winter pastures or had lost them for political reasons. Many animals would then be slaughtered at the commencement of winter and the meat smoked or salted down, while the remainder lived to fare as best they could. The many owners who could not afford meat, fresh or salted, had to try to maintain their livestock until the spring. By that time the poor creatures were no better than living skeletons hardly able to walk out to the pastures.

On the long coastal plains and marshy river banks the owners of large flocks and herds were scorched out of their pastures in summer or plagued by the mosquitoes from the marshy swamps. This necessitated a wholesale migration at the beginning of summer to the cooler alpine slopes, a feature of Albanian life as characteristic as picturesque.

A few of the purely winter pastures belonged to the State, a few to private persons, and the immense majority to some community, either a tribe, a village or a village ward. State-owned pastures dated from Turkish times and were consequently found only on the plains near big centres, as Turkish control had little reality elsewhere. Examples of these were the forested swamps of Mamuras and the Highland village of Gurrëzë on the left bank of the river

312 with the household marks of the families which are allowed to used
[493] the particular canal concerned in turn--, the screeching ox cart whose two wheels are two meters high because of the muddy roads, and which is drawn by the animals driven on by the goad and harnessed with a yoke on the nape of their necks; the wooden plow whose slade
501 and handle are both of one piece (Figure 9). The swimming bag made of a goat's skin that is blown up and tied to the front of the body, and the raft made of four such skins and a netting of intertwined osier switches, upon which the swimmer puts his clothes bundle (Figure 6). For the rest the people avail themselves of simple and double canoes, with or without side boards that raise the edge of the boat, with or without flanking beams that are nailed to the boat as floaters designed to maintain the equilibrium (Figures 7 and 8). Plank boats also occur. To husk the corn a mat of intertwined switches is placed on top of four posts rammed into the ground, and the corn cobs are then beaten with sticks one and one-half meters long, until the kernels have all fallen
411 to the ground through the plaited meshes (Figure 11). The long flint-locks, which are quite often beautiful old heirlooms, have only survived still in the south; they are being replaced by the modern repeating rifles, the pistols, and the handjars, the knife with the bone handle
221 of the shank of a cow, and the revolvers. The Albanians are to a
241 large extent farmers and in part migrating herders who commute back and forth between their winter quarters in the plains towards the Adriatic, where they work their fields, and their summer settlements on the highland pastures to which they return after they have finished working
[312] the fields. During wanderings in the highlands they rub last year's
[202] mountain snow on sheets of rock that have been scorched by the sun, in order to get water. The extensive settlement of the mountains has given rise to the development of a good signalling system by means
183 of shooting and shouting and their transmission. Certain old customs have been preserved that bespeak a life in firmly joined group combinations. To these belong the abducting of the bride, bride purchasing, the engagment of children, sworn blood brotherhood, and revenge for
[162] murder. The Albanians are approximately seven-tenths Mohammedan,
771 two-tenths Greek Orthodox, and one-tenth Roman Catholic. Nevertheless, all kinds of remnants have been preserved attesting an earlier spiritual life of the people which practiced a clairvoyant contemplation of supernatural powers and processes, basing its knowledge and its actions on the basis of its magical connection with these mysterious forces. Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,

[see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a -- Analyst]